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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	PFIP-01	C-01	DODE-00
	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01
	RP-10	SNP-01	SP-01	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00

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R 211505Z SEP 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1834
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 03943

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 3)

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MOPS, RW
SUBJECT: ARUSHA III: NGULINZIRA REPORT

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

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2. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA REMAINS UPBEAT ABOUT THE ARUSHA PROCESS, ALTHOUGH HE BELIEVES THE RPF IS TOO RIGID AND STILL FAILS TO UNDERSTAND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN RWANDA. HE WANTS TO PRESS FOR AN ELECTED TRANSITION PARLIAMENT IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE INTERNAL PARTIES. HE IS NOT TOTALLY CONVINCED THAT MUSEVENI HAS BEEN HELPFUL TO THE PROCESS, AND WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF RAWSON WOULD STOP IN KAMPALA BEFORE THE NEXT ROUND TO ENCOURAGE MUSEVENI IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. NGULINZIRA EXPECTS TO HAVE TIGHTER INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE NEXT ROUND.
END SUMMARY.

3. FOREIGN NGULINZIRA BONIFACE INVITED ME TO MEET WITH HIM THIS AFTERNOON TO DISCUSS THE AFTERMATH OF

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THE ARUSHA III TALKS. THE MINISTER SEEMED IN AMAZINGLY GOOD SPIRITS HAVING SEEN THE PRIME MINISTER THIS MORNING AND THE PRESIDENT YESTERDAY. IT WAS A WIDE RANGING DISCUSSION IN WHICH HIS DIRECTOR OF CABINET WAS THE ONLY OBSERVER.

THE RPF POSITION

4. NGULINZIRA'S FIRST LAMENT WAS THAT THE RPF DOES NOT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THE PROGRESS THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE AMONG THE POLITICAL FORCES WITHIN RWANDA. SINCE THEY DON'T UNDERSTAND THAT A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IS EMERGING HERE, THEY ARE UNABLE TO SPEAK REALISTICALLY ABOUT OPTIONS. HE SAID THEY SEEM TO HAVE ARRIVED IN ARUSHA WITH FIXED IDEAS OR THEORIES WHICH THEY PRESENTED DOGMATICALLY WITH LITTLE
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CAPABILITY OF MODIFYING THEIR VIEWS.

5. NGULINZIRA SEES THE RPF AS WANTING TO BREAK THE LEGAL ORDER THAT NOW EXISTS, SOMEHOW BELIEVING THAT AN NGULINZIRA SIGNATURE ON A PIECE ACCORD AT ARUSHA WOULD HAVE THE CAPABILITY OF CHANGING THE RWANDAN CONSTITUTION. THUS THEY SEEM TO WANT TO USE THE PEACE AGREEMENT TO ACCOMPLISH A REVOLUTION OR A COUP D'ETAT.

6. ON INDIVIDUALS, NGULINZIRA FELT THAT BIZIMUNGU AND PERHAPS EVEN KANYARENGWE ARE SIMPLY AFTER POWER. THIS WAS APPARENT FROM THE WAY IN WHICH THEIR SPOKESMEN TALKED ABOUT POWER REPEATEDLY IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER THINKS THIS WAS A MISTAKE ON THE PART OF THE RPF.

LEGISLATION IN THE TRANSITION

7. NGULINZIRA BEGAN HIS DEFENSE OF HIS PROPOSAL FOR AN ELECTED TRANSITIONAL ASSEMBLY WITH A THEORETICAL PRESENTATION WHICH HE APPARENTLY HAD MADE TO THE RPF ALSO. DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION HE SAID A LAW CAN BE PASSED EITHER BY DECREE OR BY HAVING THE RPF JOIN IN SOME FORM OF LEGISLATIVE BODY. THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA REJECTS THE USE OF DECREE LAW SINCE THAT WOULD BE A STEP BACKWARDS IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. THEREFORE THE ISSUE IS HOW TO INVOLVE THE RPF IN A LEGISLATIVE BODY.

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8. THE RPF PREFERS TO HAVE A NEW PARLIAMENT
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APPOINTED BY THE VARIOUS PARTIES. NGULINZIRA SAYS
THIS IS TEN STEPS BACKWARDS FROM THE APPROACH TOWARD
DEMOCRACY. HE SEES IT AS REPLACING AN ELECTED CND BY
AN APPOINTED BODY. I AGREED IT WAS A STEP BACK, BUT
PERHAPS NOT TEN STEPS BECAUSE THE NOMINEES FOR THE
CND UNDER THE SINGLE PARTY SYSTEM HAD ALL BEEN
APPOINTED BY ONE PARTY. NEVERTHELESS, WE AGREED THAT
AN APPOINTED LEGISLATURE TO REPLACE ONE THAT IS
CONSTITUTIONALLY BASED WOULD NOT BE A STEP FORWARD.

9. A SECOND OPTION ACCORDING TO NGULINZIRA WAS TO
HAVE ANOTHER CHAMBER IN THE PARLIAMENT, PERHAPS A
HIGHER CHAMBER WITH SUPERIOR POWERS TO THAT OF THE
CND. NGULINZIRA COULD SEE NEITHER THE FRAMEWORK FOR

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R 211505Z SEP 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 03943

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NOR THE POLITICAL MEANS OF ACHIEVING SUCH A TWO-HOUSE
LEGISLATURE.

10. THEREFORE HIS PROPOSAL IS THAT THERE SHOULD BE

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ELECTIONS FOR A PARLIAMENT OF TRANSITION. THIS WOULD
BE CONSISTENT WITH ARTICLE 101 OF THE CONSTITUTION
AND WOULD ENABLE THE PARTIES TO MOVE FORWARD. IN
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SUCH A PARLIAMENT, THE RPF MIGHT BE PERMITTED TO
ELECT FIVE OR TEN MEMBERS THROUGH WHATEVER PROCESS
THEY CHOSE TO USE. NGULINZIRA WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT
THE FICTION OF AN RPF ELECTION IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH
AN INTERIM PARLIAMENT. I SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS SOME
FORM OF ABSENTEE BALLOT COULD BE USED AMONG REFUGEES
IN UGANDA, BUT THAT SEEMED A BIT BEYOND REALISM TO
THE FOREIGN MINISTER.

11. THE PROBLEM WITH THE ELECTED TRANSITION ASSEMBLY
IS THAT THE INTERIOR PARTIES DO NOT ACCEPT THE IDEA
ANY MORE THAN THE RPF DOES. I SUGGESTED TO
NGULINZIRA THAT HE STUDY THE DRAFT "ELECTIONS RWANDA"
TEXT WHICH, IF TAKEN SERIOUSLY, MIGHT ENABLE THE
GOVERNMENT TO RUN A FREE AND FAIR ELECTION FOR A
TRANSITION PARLIAMENT. HE ADMITTED HE HAD NOT
STUDIED THE DOCUMENT, AND AGREED THAT PERHAPS THE
OPPOSITION PARTIES WERE OVERLY SUSPICIOUS OF THE
DRAFT TEXT BECAUSE OF ITS BEING HELD BY THE MRND
MINISTER OF INTERIOR. (COMMENT: BOTH RAWSON AND I
HAVE GIVEN THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT WE FAVOR THE
ELECTED INTERIM ASSEMBLY OVER OTHER OPTIONS THAT HAVE
BEEN DISCUSSED. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS NOT AT ALL CLEAR
THAT THE LEVEL OF SUSPICION OF THE PARTIES AND THE
RPF CAN BE OVERCOME BY A CANADIAN TYPE FORMULA. END
COMMENT).

THE UGANDAN POSITION

12. NGULINZIRA REPEATED TO ME THE INFORMATION THAT
PASSED AROUND ARUSHA THAT MUSEVENI HAD SENT A MESSAGE
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TO TELL THE RPF THAT THEY CAN'T GET AWAY WITH TRYING
TO EXCLUDE THE MRND OR HABYARIMANA FROM THE
GOVERNMENT. HE WASN'T SURE WHETHER HE COULD TAKE
THIS SERIOUSLY OR NOT, AND WONDERED IF RAWSON PLANNED
TO STOP IN KAMPALA BEFORE THE NEXT MEETING. I
REPLIED THAT WE WERE ALSO ANALYZING THE MUSEVENI
MESSAGE, BUT, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT IT WAS VALID, I
SAID I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT RAWSON STOP IN KAMPALA

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BEFORE THE NEXT ROUND TO ENCOURAGE MUSEVENI ALONG
THAT LINE.

THE TANZANIAN EQUATION

13. NGULINZIRA EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE ROLE
THAT TANZANIA HAS PLAYED, AND PARTICULARLY IN
COVERING ALL THE COSTS FOR THE LARGE DELEGATIONS IN
ARUSHA. BUT HE DID NOTE THAT FORIEGN MINISTER DIRIA
HAS BEEN A BIT OF A PROBLEM. CLEARLY RWANDA WOULD
PREFER TO HAVE MKAPA BACK AGAIN, BUT THEY ARE NOT
SURE WHAT THE INTERNAL POLITICS IN TANZANIA IS AND
DON'T WANT TO GET THEMSELVES CROSSWISE WITH THE
TANZANIANS. WHAT HE APPEARED TO BE ASKING WAS IF
THERE WAS SOME WAY IN WHICH WE COULD DISCREETLY
ENCOURAGE THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT TO HAVE MKAPA
RESUME A ROLE AS FACILITATOR.

THE NEXT ROUND

14. ASKED HOW HE SAW THE NEXT SESSION, NGULINZIRA
SAID THAT HE FULLY EXPECTED THERE WOULD BE THREE DAYS
OF BLATHER AS THE RPF RETURNED TO OLD POSITIONS, AND
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PERHAPS EVEN BROUGHT UP SOME NEW DEMANDS. HE SAID HE
IS PREPARED TO SIT FOR THAT LENGTH OF TIME BUT HOPES
BY THE FOURTH OF FIFTH DAY SOME NEGOTIATIONS WILL
ACTUALLY BEGIN.

15. HE SAID THAT UNFORTUNATELY FOR THE RPF HE
EXPECTS TO HAVE TIGHTER INSTRUCTIONS THIS TIME THAN
HE HAD BEFORE. NOW ALL THE PARTIES KNOW WHAT THE
PARAMETERS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE, AND THEY WILL
GIVE HIM FAIRLY TIGHT INSTRUCTIONS. AS HE SEES IT,
THE RPF LOST THE OPPORTUNITY TO NAIL DOWN SOME OF THE

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R 211505Z SEP 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 03943

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 17)

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
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POINTS OF AGREEMENT IN THE COMMUNIQUE, AND SOME OF
THESE POINTS WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE FOLLOWING THE FULL
REVIEW HERE.

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COMMUNICATIONS

16. NGULINZIRA DESCRIBED THE PRESIDENT'S UNHAPPINESS
AFTER WAITING TWO DAYS TO GET A FAX OF THE MAJOR
PROPOSAL OFFERED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA. HE DID
NOT SEEM PARTICULARLY UPSET BY IT BUT HOPES TO BE
ABLE TO HAVE IMPROVED COMMUNICATIONS THE NEXT TIME.
I ASKED HIM IF HE THOUGHT THAT THE CABINET
INSTRUCTIONS TO THE MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AND
COMMUNICATIONS WOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM. HE SAID
CANDIDLY NO, AND ASKED IF THERE WERE SOME WAY WE
COULD INTERVENE TO HELP. I TOLD HIM THAT WE WERE
SEEKING GUIDANCE FROM WASHINGTON, BUT THAT I HAD
HEARD OF A FAIRLY EXPENSIVE COMMERCIALY PROVIDED
SATELLITE LINK THAT MIGHT BE AVAILABLE FOR THEIR
USE. (COMMENT: ANY HELP WASHINGTON CAN GIVE US ON
THIS WOULD BE DEEPLY APPRECIATED HERE. END COMMENT.)

COMMENT

17. NGULINZIRA WAS REMARKABLY UPBEAT CONSIDERING THE
DIFFICULTIES THAT HE WILL FACE IN PUTTING TOGETHER
HIS NEGOTIATING INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE NEXT ROUND JUST

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TWO WEEKS AWAY. I URGED HIM TO GET TOGETHER WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND I'M SURE HE WILL, BUT I'M NOT SURE THAT HE UNDERSTANDS HOW SERIOUS THE PROBLEM IS THAT HE HAS WITH MDR, PL AND PSD.

18. IT IS PREDICTABLE THAT WE WILL BECOME INVOLVED IN THIS INTERNAL DEBATE. I INTEND TO CONTINUE TO
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ENCOURAGE THEM TO LOOK AT THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ELECTORAL SOLUTION FOR AN ASSEMBLY. BUT IF THAT DOESN'T GO DOWN, WE MAY FIND OURSELVES SUPPORTING A MORE RWANDAN SOLUTION TO THE THORNY QUESTION OF POWER-SHARING DURING A TRANSITION PERIOD.

19. ANOTHER PUZZLING ASPECT OF THE EQUATION IS THE RPF'S REFUSAL TO MEET WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES TOGETHER. IT IS PARTICULARLY PUZZLING WHEN THE RPF IS SEEKING TO BRING THE OPPOSITION PARTIES TO A MEETING OUTSIDE RWANDA, ON THE MODEL OF THE MAY 28 THROUGH JUNE 4 MEETING IN BRUSSELS. THUS IT APPEARS THAT ALL SIDES BELIEVE THAT MORE CONTACT IS NECESSARY, BUT THEY CAN'T SEEM TO FIND A FORMULA FOR GETTING TOGETHER. MDR AND PL HAVE ASSURED ME THAT THEY WILL NOT GO OFF TO ANOTHER BRUSSELS TYPE MEETING, BUT THEY WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO MEET INFORMALLY WITH THE RPF AGAIN IF THEY COULD FIND AN MRND PARTICIPANT. IT IS NOT YET CLEAR WHETHER THE RPF WOULD ACCEPT THAT FORMULA. BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT SOME FORM OF GETTING THE THREE MAJOR PLAYERS IN THIS DRAMA TOGETHER WILL HAVE TO BE FOUND AT SOME POINT. END COMMENT.
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